

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----270854 065360 /11

R 270530Z FEB 77  
FM AMEMBASSY KABUL  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1559

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 KABUL 1390/1

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: AF, US, PFOR  
SUBJ: CONVERSATION WITH PRESIDENT DAOUD'S BROTHER AND  
ADVISOR, MOHAMMAD NAIM, ON AFGHAN-SOVIET AND AFGHAN-  
U.S. RELATIONS

1. MOHAMMAD NAIM, PRESIDENT DAOUD'S BROTHER AND  
PRINCIPAL FOREIGN AFFAIRS ADVISOR, ASKED ME TO SEE  
HIM FEBRUARY 26. DURING THE 45-MINUTE CONVERSATION,  
FOREIGN MINISTRY DIRECTOR GENERAL GHAUS WAS ALSO  
PRESENT. NAIM INDICATED THAT HE WANTED TO DISCUSS  
WITH ME AFGHAN-SOVIET AND AFGHAN-U.S. RELATIONS. HE  
ASKED THAT HIS REMARKS, PARTICULARLY ON THE FORMER,  
BE KEPT IN GREAT CONFIDENCE.

2. NAIM SAID THAT THE PRINCIPAL MATTER HE WISHED TO  
INFORM ME ABOUT WAS HIS JANUARY 6-26 TRIP TO THE SOVIET  
UNION. HE HAD GONE PRIMARILY FOR SOME MEDICAL TREATMENT.  
BUT DAOUD HAD ALSO INSTRUCTED HIM TO SEE  
BREZHNEV ON ONE SPECIFIC MATTER. HE HAD TOLD BREZHNEV  
OF THE EXISTENCE WITHIN AFGHANISTAN OF CERTAIN "CIRCLES"  
WHICH ARE INVOLVED IN ANTI-GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES AND  
WHICH CLAIM SOVIET SUPPORT. HE ASKED BREZHNEV TO  
COMMENT ON THIS MATTER. BREZHNEV GAVE HIM A CATEGORIC  
DENIAL THAT THE SOVIET UCPVN IS INVOLVED IN ANY SUCH  
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ACTIVITIES IN AFGHANISTAN. BREZHNEV THEN TURNED THE  
SUBJECT TO THE SOVIET AID PROGRAM FOR AFGHANISTAN AND  
OFFERED SUBSTANTIAL NEW ASSISTANCE IN A NUMBER OF  
FIELDS. NAIM TOLD HIM THAT HE WAS NOT AUTHORIZED TO  
DISCUSS THAT SUBJECT.

3. AT THIS POINT NAIM COMMENTED TO ME THAT THERE IS

CAUSE FOR SKEPTICISM ABOUT BREZHNEV'S DENIAL OF SOVIET-SPONSORED ANTI-GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES IN AFGHANISTAN. (COMMENT: SE SHARE NAIM'S SKEPTICISM. NOT ONLY HAS THE SOVIET-ALIGNED PARCHAM PARTY ATTACKED DAOUD'S POLICY OF RAPPROCHEMENT WITH PAKISTAN, BUT THERE HAS BEEN A RECENT INCREASE IN ANTI-REGIME PAMPHLETS WHICH MAY BE PARCHAM IN ORIGIN. END COMMENT) NAIM ALSO COMMENTED TO ME THAT MORE SOVIET AID MEANS MORE SOVIET TECHNICIANS AND MORE SOVIET OPPORTUNITIES FOR SUBVERSION. HE SAID THAT WHEREAS HE DID NOT PURSUE THE SUBJECT OF SOVIET AID WITH BREZHNEV, THIS MATTER WILL CERTAINLY COME UP DURING PRESIDENT DAOUD'S FORTHCOMING VISIT TO MOSCOW. COMMENT: IN TELLING ME ABOUT HIS TALK WITH BREZHNEV, NAIM WAS OF COURSE SETTING THE STAGE FOR WHAT HE SAID LATER ABOUT U.S.-AFGHAN RELATIONS. END COMMENT.

4. SPEAKING IN GENERAL TERMS ABOUT AFHGAN-SOVIET RELATIONS, NAIM SAID THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF AFGHANISTAN STRONGLY DESIRES IN THE COURSE OF TIME TO RESTRICT SOVIET INFLUENCE IN AFGHANISTAN. THIS, HE SAID, CANNOT BE DONE SUDDENLY BECAUSE TO DO SO WOULD BE DANGEROUS FOR AFGHANISTAN. BUT HE CITED, AS WAYS IN WHICH AFGHANISTAN IS RESTRICTING SOVIET INFLUENCE, IMPROVED AFGHAN RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN AND IRAN, THE DISMISSAL OF MOST LEFTISTS FROM THE AFGHAN GOVERNMENT AND THE NEW AFGHAN CONSTITUTION WHICH IS A "CONSERVATIVE" DOCUMENT NOT ONLY BECAUSE DEMOCRACY CANNOT BE BROUGHT OVERNIGHT TO AFGHANISTAN BUT ALSO BECAUSE THERE HAS BEEN A CONSCIOUS EFFORT  
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IN DRAFTING THE CONSTITUTION TO LIMIT OPPORTUNITIES FOR SUBVERSIVE GROUPS.

5. NAIM WENT ON TO SAY THAT AFGHANISTN CANNOT RESTRICT SOVIET INFLUENCE WITOUT THE HELP OF THE UNITED STATES. HE SAID THAT AFGHANISTAN NEEDS OUR SUPPORT MORALLY, POLITICALLY AND ECONOMICALLY. IT ALSO NEEDS SUPPORT FROM THE REST OF THE "FREE WORLD" AND HOPES THAT WE CAN PERSUADE OUR FRIENDS TO ASSIST. HE SAID THERE HAD BEEN NO OPPORTUNITY YET FOR HIGH-LEVEL CONTACT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF AFGHANISTAN AND THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION BUT THAT HE WANTED TO CONVEY THIS FUNDAMENTAL NEED OF AFGHANISTAN FOR AMERICAN SUPPORT AS HE HAD DONE LAST JUNE IN WASHINGTON TO THE FORD ADMINISTRATION.

6. IN RESPONSE, I SAID FIRSTLY THAT I HOPE TO SEE PRESIDENT DAOUD IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS TO CONVEY THE THOUGHTS OF OUR NEW ADMINISTRATION ON U.S.-AFGHAN RELATIONS

AND ON THE U.S. ATTITUDE TOWARDS AFGHANISTAN'S REGION OF THE WORLD. SECONDLY, I SAID THAT I COULD NOT BE OPTIMISTIC, GIVEN PRESIDENT CARTER'S AND SECRETARY VANCE'S SCHEDULED COMMITMENTS, THAT HIGH-LEVEL CONTACT COULD BE ARRANGED WITHIN AT LEAST THE NEXT FEW MONTHS BUT THAT I HAD THIS SUBJECT VERY MUCH IN MIND. THIRDLY, I SAID THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS LONG BELIEVED THAT AFGHANISTAN ITSELF IS THE BEST JUDGE OF WHAT MUST BE DONE TO PRESERVE ITS INDEPENDENCE BUT THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS SUPPORTED SUCH EFFORTS DIRECTLY AND THROUGH ITS FRIENDS AND INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

7. NAIM CONCLUDED THE CONVERSATION WITH ONE MORE PLEA FOR OUT UNDERSTANDING OF AFGHANISTAN'S GEOGRAPHIC POSTION AND FOR OUR SUPPORT IN RESTRICTING SOVIET INFLUENCE HERE.

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8. COMMENT: ALL OF THIS IS A FAMILIAR NAIM TUNE. THAT DOES NOT MEAN THAT IT IS NOT REAL OR THAT IT DOES NOT REFLECT THE VIEWS OF DAOUD AS WELL. WHILE THE

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
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R 270530Z FEB 77  
FM AMEMBASSY KABUL  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1560

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 KABUL 1390/2

EXDIS

ARGUMENTS NAIM USES PROVIDE JUSTIFICATION FOR REQUESTS FOR ALL KINDS OF AMERICAN ASSITANCE, THAT DOES NOT MEAN THAT THERE DOES NOT EXIST A DEEPLY-FELT AFGHAN DESIRE FOR OUR SUPPORT. AL FIRST BLUSH,

I SEE NO REASON FOR US TO BE DOING ANYTHING DIFFERENT  
HERE IN THZMIMMEDIATE FUTURE. I WILL, HOWEVER, REVIEW  
THE SITUATION AGAIN AFTER MY MEETING WITH DAOUD AND  
MAKE ANY SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS AT THAT TIME WHICH  
SEEM TO BE APPROPRIATE. END COMMENT.

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